MOKO

A Serious Review

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THE DLP AND TRINIDAD

By James Millette

An honest appraisal of the problems facing the DLP should convince us that the current party crisis is a crisis not for the party alone but for all of us. The recent decision of the party's executive to seek the removal of Dr. Rudranath Capildeo from the political leadership of the DLP, if carried through, is bound to have the most far-reaching effects on the politics of this country.

Like it or not, the DLP is still the only political alternative to the PNM, though of course a very poor alternative. And the split which threatens now further to weaken the party is important not only because it is yet another split within the DLP but also because it occurs at a time when, with the PNM itself on the decline, activity in the oppositionist section of the society is of the highest political significance .

To understand what is happening we must rid ourselves of at least one popular notion pertaining to the DLP. It would be certain folly to see current events within the framework of DLP 'immaturity', and see to in them further, perhaps even final, proof of this 'immaturity'. For one thing the problems of the DLP were never principally problems of the DLP alone, not were they ever principally problems of 'immaturity'. The DLP's problems were problems stemming from the character of our society which conspired to give the DLP the chance to establish itself as an entrenched minority party drawing its strength from the communal support of the territory's 300,000 odd Hindus.

COMPLEX PROBLEM

As such the DLP has always had a complicated political problem the elements of which we have to understand. The first essential element derives from the fact that, theoretically, we are operating a two-party system the essence of which is that participating political organizations should see themselves as plausible if not equal contenders for political power.

The second important element is that, given the support of the Hindu population, the DLP had just enough voting strength to form a substantial opposition but never really to threaten to replace the government. On the wings of power but without any hope of really participating in it the party cultivated the style of irresponsibility largely because there was little possibility of its ever being called upon to be responsible. Nevertheless, by its very existence, it frustrated the development of any other political opposition which could possibly emerge as a serious contestant for political power. In other words the existence of the DLP not only confirmed the DLP in permanent opposition but, by complicating the process by which an alternative opposition party could arise, made it all too easy for all opposition forces likewise to be forced into permanent opposition.

Today, after more than ten years of existence, the DLP is no nearer being a plausible alternative to the PNM than it was on the day on which it was formed. Indeed, we if recognize the 1958 Federal elections and the 1961 campaign up to the unfortunate savannah meeting as the high points in the DLP's existence, then the party is now further from grasping political power than it was in its infant years.

PROBLEM OF CHOICE

It is urgent then to realize that the problem of the DLP has always been and still remains a problem of choice. It could choose to remain an entrenched minority based on race and religion, but then it would always remain a minority party; or, it could choose to become a serious national party. It was obvious that it could not be both. If it chose to remain an entrenched minority party then the prospects were that it would continue to be racked by a series of recurring crises arising out of the frustrations of politicians who, aware of the impossibility of ever wielding power, exhaust themselves in the ceaseless search for rewards, often even by grace of the PNM their political opponents.

BLEAK FUTURE

This has been, in fact, the road which the DLP has so far chosen. There is no mystery involved in explaining the bleak future of such a political party. The instincts of such a party could hardly be seriously political in any true sense of the word, and as a party the DLP has been basically unstable, indisciplined and lacking in ideology. In addition it has attracted all the misfortunes attendant on being a racial party in a society in which the ethnic distribution is against it without at the same time acquiring the moral position, the credibility or the skill to insist upon being accorded its due as the official Opposition. Perpetual opposition has been its lot and this for any-self-respecting political party could hardly be an attractive proposition.

In recent times it would seem that the undesirability of such a political position has been gradually

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OUR MAN IN INDIA

Some of the most surprising news lately has been the appointment of Mr. Ashford Sinanan as Trinidad's ambassador-designate to India. In some corners, at once tempers began to fly, and within the minds of the politically minded flashed a question mark . . . Why Mr Sinanan? And answers suggest themselves. It may be an attempt to establish a precedent. It may be a political gimmick, or it may be a change of heart. It may be fear. It could be an attempt to woo the other side.

A precedent because it is the first time since the selecting of ambassadors that someone from the D.L.P. has been selected. A political gimmick because moves of this nature will not change the racial style of politics in the country. Change of heart because pressure had been brought on the ruling party for not giving any other person except a P.N.M. member, a chance to share in the ambassador's pool. Fear, because it is hinted in political circles that the absentee leader of the D.L.P. is hoping to call some of the real political giants back to the forefront.

So tempers flew because P.N.M. members stated in no uncertain manner their dis aproval of such an appointment. Some felt that it should have gone to a party member who would see that the Government's policy is carried out. One Constituency Group complained that Mr. Sinanan won three elections and has always been opposed to the ruling party, and that there exist capable persons within the party to carry out the duties of ambassador.

That raises the question, "Are there any?" Experience suggests that there aren't. We remember that the party had to recall from ministerial duties Mr. Granado, so that he could fit in as an ambassador. It may be simply that the Government realises the lack of talent within the party, and that rank and file members who believe that a Government should only help its supporters, will have to realize this too.

WHAT NEED

But, do we really need an ambassador in India? Can we not channel that money for other progressive purposes? Let's take a look at our man in Canada. We are still waiting to hear whether he played any vital role on behalf of Trinidad during the Sir George Williams affair. What about our ambassador in Ethiopia? To begin with, what is he doing there? The whole idea of such a post is amusing. The people of Trinidad do not even get a scrap of news about Ethiopia. We were indeed complimented with the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie. But was even this worth the price of an ambassador

As most people see it, the appointment of Mr. Sininan is little more than a move to satisfy the fancies of a particular ethnic group, by balancing off the equally useless appointment of an ambassador in Ethopia. I believe the next ambassador to be named will be Chinese. Mr. Ambassador for India, bon voyage and happy holiday.

by C. Prescott

Butler in 1965

THE BUTLER ERA

June 1969 is the 37th anniversary of what has been called the 1937 disturbances in Trinidad and Tobago. It is perhaps more accurate to call the 1937 events a rebellion. During that rebellion emerged a rebel leader, T.Uriah Butler. Below, MOKO brings its readers extracts from the Foster Commission's report on the "Trinidad and Tobago Disturbances 1937" relating to whom they termed "that dangerous man" that "fanatic", Uriah Butler.

"For some months prior to the outbreak of the disturbances there had been signs of discontent, a fanatical negro named Uriah Butler showing considerable activity in villages near the oilfields and delivering speeches of an inflammatory nature. In view of the frequent references which we shall have to make to this man a brief account of his previous history will not be out of place. Born in Grenada, he went to Trinidad in 1921 when about 30 years of age He was at one time employed in the oil industry and sustained an injury in 1929 which left him permanently lame. He first came into prominence in 1935 when he organized and led to Port-of-Spain a hunger march of some 120 men who had become tempararily unemployed in consequence of a three days' strike of two hundred labourers on the Apex oilfield. He

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ATTENTION

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DLP AND TRINIDAD

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forcing itself upon some elements in the DLP. Two successive and overwhelming defeats at the General Elections of 1961 and 1966, the failure of the policy of 'silence' in the period after the 1966 election and the desertion by the party of its absentee political leader have encouraged a re-examination of the party's political situation. Apparently the conviction has grown that the first step in the party's regeneration must be a change in leadership: initiative from abroad must be supplanted by decision-making at home.

NEED FOR CHANGE

The question that now forces itself is: will this be enough? The present crisis in the DLP is important also because it threatens the fragmentation of one of the two major political parties at a time when the whole society is seething with the anticipation of fundamental changes in our whole social, economic and political system. Talk about politics today is hardly only talk about changing leaders, however important this might be. There is a widespread yearning for an altogether different kind of politics amounting in essence to a real demand for a new political movement. If this is a political fact then a political party, no matter how well established, must reckon with it.

SOME PROSPECTS

Their reckoning can of course take several forms. It might be argued, for instance, that a serious new political movement would very likely be a blessing to the existing parties if only in the short run. It would create the ideal situation in which they could mobilise their basic, mass racial support. In so doing they could squash between them the new movement which would be, as it were still-born. It might even be argued that this was the lesson of the WFP in 1966. The threat of the WFP served to intensify the racial bias of the old parties: PNM remained Negro, DLP remained Indian and the new party was destroyed.

THE W.F.P

Yet there are other lessons in 1966 and the argument might be put quite differently. In the first place public demand for a new political movement was not what it is today: the dominant public emotion was boredom, not anticipation. And in the second place whatever the WFP thought of itself public confidence in it as a new political movement was exceedingly low. Even more significant though was the level of popular abstention from the polls which even the voting machines failed to hide. In 1961, the first of the General Elections really contested on the basis of open racial affiliation, the percentage of voters participating in the election was 88.11 %. Of a total electorate of 378,511, 333,512 persons voted: 44,999 abstained. In 1966, 65.79% of the electorate participated in the elections in actual figures 302,548 out of 459,839: 157,291 abstained. Not only that, in 1961 out of an electorate smaller by about 80,000 than that of 1966, 190, 003 persons voted PNM and 138, 910 voted DLP. In 1966, 158, 573 voted PNM and 102,792 voted DLP.

The conclusions are clear. There is less and less participation in the political system by persons entitled to vote; there is less and less support for the existing parties; and even the threat of a supposedly radical new party was not enough to induce a significant proportion of the electorate to go to the polls.

A NEW MOVEMENT

This does say a few things about the new movement, and possibly about the role of those persons who now support the existing parties in such a movement. The burden of winning credibility for a new political movement lies very heavily upon itself. People will not support anything that simply declares itself to be new: it must be genuinely so in addition

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to being revelant. If the signs are right such a movement will have to abandon a narrow racialism in addition to committing itself to the implementation of all those important tasks which have to be done if this society is to be put right.

Obviously it will have, so to speak, to deal with the existing parties. This is a small nation of one million people but even so it will take more than the current crop of abstainers to make an electoral victory. No new political movement can be successful except by drawing support from the major political parties.. This will necessarily involve the DLP, the PNM and all other existing or barely surviving political formations; but will involve them on different terms. The people who are to man the new movement belong today mainly to the DLP or the PNM or else to no party at all. A serious new political movement will confront many of them at once with the problem of choosing between a new and an old allegiance. If they choose the new in sufficient numbers then the old parties will be faced the with problem of survival; in any case these parties will face the need to adjust to a fundamentally different political situation in which the criteria for survival are very unlikely to be what they are today.

It will be interesting to see how the DLP prepares itself to meet the challenges of our new political age.

CHESS No. 9

BY "OTTO"

The printer's devil has been playing havoc with all our attempts to keep track of our columns by numbering them. This is the ninth, and we hope to number all our columns in future. This will assist immeasurably in keeping track of what we are doing.

It is time now to talk of the structure of the game. It is agreed commonly that the game of chess falls logically into three parts, the opening, the middle game and the end game. In the very scientific exercise which chess is today all three of these sections have developed into very elaborate sub-sections of the game. Volumes have been and are being written about the theory of the opening game, of the middle game and of the end game. It will be useful to study some of these. If asked we shall be happy to give some references. As a beginner one is confronted with the necessity of mastering the elements of all the main aspects of the game as well as, in particular, the techniques of the opening and end games. Most people seem able to negotiate the middle game much easier than any of the other two sections. This is probably because the middle is very often not very critical. It's placid with nothing much happening, people just playing until suddenly, something happens and a crisis is on. It is then that the importance of the middle game and the importance of constantly working to improve one's middle game is realized.

For most players the middle game is the heart of the game, and often it is indeed the most pleasurable. It is here that the elements of genius, of insight, of skillful and combinative play manifest themselves. Here too one can indulge those flights of imigination (and some times of mere fancy) which lead to success or perdition. But if the middle game is associated with the accomplishment of high strategy and the display of limitless inspired resourcefulness, the opening and the end games are concerned with the scientific garnering of minute but often decisive advantages Many a game is lost at the very beginning; many another, seemingly lost, is won at the very end, as it were on the final move.

Strickly speaking through the subdivision of the game into three parts is only applicable where the game runs its normal natural course of some thirty moves or so and ends up with a situation characterized by the elimination of many if not all of the major pieces and not a few of the pawns. Some games hardly survive the opening and many more hardly get past the middle game. In our last column we furnished an example of a game that perished in its opening stanzas, after four moves as you will remember. In this column we offer a game that did not survive the middle game; it survived the opening, but only just.

This game was played by "Otto" on January 28, 1964, against an opponent who would probably not wish to be reminded of it. "Otto" had the white pieces and the game went like this.

1.P–K4 P–K4
2. N–KB3 P–Q3 (Not too good)
3. P–Q4 B–N5
This too is bad; Black should play PxP)
5. BxB Q–K2
6. O–O P–KN3
(Black is now underestimating the crisis; he chooses a strategy that is much too slow. He is'developing' , but how?)
7. N–B3 N–B3
(White is now way ahead in development and the fireworks are about to begin.

In fact it might be said that the object of a sound opening game must be to prevent your opponent gaining such an advantage that your game becomes lost.)

8. PxP QxP
9. R–K1!
White is now threatening to play N–Q5 to which Black cannot reply NxN because he will lose the queen;; but black needs also to defend against NxQBPch)
9.....P–QB3
(To prevent the knight coming to Q5)
10. N–Q 5
(But white plays it all the same; his position is now so good he can afford to. Also he is 'sacrificing' but this is a sound sacrifice.)
10.....PxN??
(The Queen is lost.)
11. PxP QxRch
12 Qx Qch B - K2
13. B–N5 Resigns
(Black is faced with ultimate loss of even more material and concede the game.)

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THE BUTLER ERA

next appeared on the scene in 1936 when, following his expulsion from membership of the Trinidad Labour Party on account of his extremist tendencies, he formed a party of his own known as the British Empire Workers and Citizens Home Rule Party. For this latter party he claimed to have had about 100 paying members and 900 others at the time of the disturbances. His speeches and the literature issued by his party became conspicuous for their violent character and as his following included as subsequent events confirmed–many who were prepared to adopt violent methods, Butler's activities came to be regarded as dangerous. At the same time Butler appealed to the workpeople from the standpoint of wages; and, as threatening and abusive letters addressed to oilfield employers brought no response, he advocated a sit-down strike.

(sect. 191, pp. 47 - 48)

June 19 1937,

Throughout 19th June, police reinforcements continued to arrive at San Fernando, the headquarters of the police in the south, and at Fyzabad, the centre of the trouble. and instructions were issued for the arrest of Butler on charges of using violent language which might lead to breach of the peace and of counselling and inciting the commission of breaches of the peace and acts of violence.

Inspector Power approached Butler and informed him that he held warrants for his arrest and that he was sure that he would come along quietly. The crowd does not appear at that time to have displayed any hostility towards the police but Butler asked for the warrants to be read. Lance-Corporal Prince commenced to read one of them but for some reason found difficulty in doing so and it was passed to Superintendent-Sergeant Belfon. During the period of delay caused by Lance-Corporal Prince's inability to read the warrant the temper of the crowd suddenly changed. Butler asked whether they were going to allow the police to take him and the crowd cried "No they can't take you" and made a rush at

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MOK

WANTED A BACK

Supporters of the party in power over the fate of the five hundred Limited went into voluntary liquid ought to be protected. Oddly enough cynical "good for them" when their jobs presented itself a few weeks

They then did everything to de whose interests had for some time and permanently bankrupt Corporation overthrow the Government by defying the TIWU and the entire Trades Union matter for the Corporation to sack buses, and then to make capital of listen to the Government for the first cleared that there had been no strike.

After that it was a simple matter who had supported the strike. When Coporation sought to replace so many What criteria were employed in this less efficient, or is it more probable on the strategic support which

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DECOLONISATION:

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Jagan's open declaration of brotherhood supporting their action in Czechoslovakia one suspected he has been occupying returns he expects for this confession this is just another example of that so strangely full. It may be too that by his Soviet cronies and by the deadly political impotence.

Jagan is in many ways a tragic figure so assiduously placed on the imperial blacks of Guyana together provided exposed the weaknesses of his regime split Guyana into two frustrated who should divide the spoils after Burnham

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MOK

UMBIE

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MOKOJUMBIE

WANTED A BACK BONE

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DECOLONISATION: [illegible]EAH ! YEAH !

Recently the Caribbean has been witnessing several declarations of faith on the part of its leading political figures. First there was Gairy's alarming statement that the idea for "EXPO '69" from which he seems to have gained a flour mill just like Trinidad, came in fact from God. More recently there has been the confessions of Guyana's Cheddie Jagan and the silent attestation of Trinidadian Williams.

Jagan's open declaration of brotherhood with Soviet Russia even to the point of supporting their action in Czechoslovakia is an open statement of a position which everyone suspected he has been occupying for some time. What one fails to see is what political returns he expects for this confession. They be simply that he expects nothing; that this is just another example of that moral fervour with which his THE WEST ON TRIAL is so strangely full. It may be too that he has been pressurised into saying this credo, both by his Soviet cronies and by the desperate sense that his position in Guyana is one of political impotence.

Jagan is in many ways a tragic figure. No other British Caribbean politician has been so assiduously placed on the imperialist altar as he. Britain, America and the frightened blacks of Guyana together provided diplomatic, economic and political opposition which exposed the weaknesses of his regime, and racial warfare as a political norm, and split Guyana into two frustrated and [illegible]ing camps, whose only idea of politics is who should divide the spoils after Independence.

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Three cheers [illegible]

JUMBIE

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SOUNDS AND PRESSURE

PART II

by Gordon Rohlehr

Conditions in Kingston grew progressively worse. There were racial riots in 1965; the bull-dozing in 1966 of hundreds of squatters from the West Kingston area; the growing anarchy of the dispossessed, who were driven from the cemetry; the organization of violence along party lines in 1967. This disaster, anarchy and heartbreak created a perfect context for the blues. Out of this chaos emerged the Rock Steady, a beat which resulted from the slowing down of the Ska. It was almost as if a conscious attempt were being made to cool the country down. By some strange irony the name "Rock Steady" is also applied to a special rubber truncheon, which the police use to beat uncooperative citizens, so that the blows hurt, but don't show. In the midst of the frenzy, Prince Buster's reassuring voice told the fans "Take it easy. . . .No need to worry"

The Rock steady became popular throughout the West Indies Unfortunately, despite the genuine talents of Alphonso and Mc Cook, there was no instrumentalist of Drummond's stature and conviction, to exploit this much freer beat. What is noticeable though, is that the singers are now producing their own raw experience, and making deep, and sometimes bitter comments on the society. In the Ska era, there were Rasta songs like "The Time Has Come for I", and "Carry Go Bring", a song which commented on the adverse effects of rumour and "mauvais langue" and was said to refer to Lady Bustamante. The Rock Steady version of it is very moving, as the singer advises.

"Better to seek a home in Mount Zion high Instead of heaping opression on an innocent man. But time will tell on you, you old Jezebel
How long shall the wicked reign over my people?"

RUDY SONG

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BY "OTTO"

astering the elements of all the ain aspects of the game as well in particular, the techniques the opening and end games. st people seem able to negotiate middle game much easier than of the other two sections. is is probably because the middle very often not very critical. placid with nothing much pening, people just playing until denly, something happens and risis is on. It is then that the ortance of the middle game the importance of constantly king to improve one's middle e is realized.

or most players the middle is the heart of the game, often it is indeed the most urable. It is here that the nts of genius, of insight, of l and combinative play manthemselves. Here too one can ge those flights of imagination some times of mere fancy)

which lead to success or perdition. But if the middle game is associated with the accomplishment of high strategy and the display of limitless inspired resourcefulness, the opening and the end games are concerned with the scientific garnering of minute but often decisive advantages Many a game is lost at the very beginning; many another, seemingly lost, is won at the very end, as it were on the final move.

Strickly speaking through the subdivision of the game into three parts is only applicable where the game runs its normal natural course of some thirty moves or so and ends up with a situation characterized by the elimination of many if not all of the major pieces and not a few of the pawns. Some games hardly survive the opening and many more hardly get past the middle game. In our last column we furnished an example of a game that perished in its opening stanzas, after four moves as you will remember. In this column we offer a game that did not survive the middle game; it survived the opening, but only just.

This game was played by "Otto" on January 28, 1964, against an opponent who would probably not wish to be reminded of it. "Otto" had the white pieces and the game went like this.

1.P–K4 P–K4
2. N–KB3 P–Q3 (Not too good)
3. P–Q4 B–N5
This too is bad; Black should play PxP)
5. BxB Q–K2
6. O–O P–KN3
(Black is now underestimating the crisis; he chooses a strategy that is much too slow. He is'developing', but how?)
7. N–B3 N–B3
(White is now way ahead in development and the fireworks are about to begin.

In fact it might be said that the object of a sound opening game must be to prevent your opponent gaining such an advantage that your game becomes lost.)

8. PxP QxP
9. R–K1!
White is now threatening to play N–Q5 to which Black cannot reply NxN because he will lose the queen;; but black needs also to defend against NxQBPch)
9.....P–QB3
(To prevent the knight coming to Q5)
10. N–Q 5
(But white plays it all the same; his position is now so good he can afford to. Also he is 'sacrificing' but this is a sound sacrifice.)
10.....PxN??
(The Queen is lost.)
11. PxP QxRch
12. Qx Qch B - K2
13. B–N5 Resigns
(Black is faced with ultimate loss of even more material and concede the game.)

R ERA

in the south, and at ad, the centre of the e. and instructions were for the arrest of Butler harges of using violent ge which might lead to of the peace and of elling and inciting the ission of breaches of the and acts of violence.

Inspector Power ap- ed Butler and inform- that he held warrants arrest and that he was at he would come along . The crowd does not at that time to have ed any hostility to- the police but Butler for the warrants to be Lance-Corporal Prince nced to read one of but for some reason difficulty in doing so was passed to Superin- -Sergeant Belfon. Dur- period of delay caused ce-Corporal Prince's in- o read the warrant the of the crowd suddenly . Butler asked whether ere going to allow the o take him and the cried "No they can't u" and made a rush at

Continue on Page 4

Friday 20 June 1969

UMBIE

showing a strange and welcome concern
lost their jobs w[illegible]ach Industries
interest of workers, they now realise,
the same people who said a simple and
a similar number of bus workers losing

workers, not as a small group of workers
ead to those of an inefficiently managed
a band of subverts whose only aim was to
trike laws. And because the bus workers,
nit were weak in morale, it was a simple
by employing loyal party men to run the
ion which resulted. The next step was to
e when both Williams and Mahabir de-

the dismissal of about six hundred men
wondering at the ease with which the
ome of whom must have been skilled.
tion? Will it make the service more, or
re selected less on superior merit than
oration and party during the strike?
rs must be protected from the foreign
se to do this without a fundamental
control the most vital areas of our
ore local participation should be en-
s like the Transport Corporation in-
he outsiders when inept management
looded decision to sack men in such
we openly condone?

fight to the finish with which the
hey are a manifestation on the poli-
we know so well. Over the years,
ndividual Bad-John. It was usually
He interpreted moral concern as a
he fact that the Bad-John grew old
hich he instilled while we allowed

e had to wait for old age to free
rage was also to blame. Indeed,
t we cannot recognise one when
inal morale of the Bus Workers;
support even from sympathisers.
ed Sandbach employees is likely
E SECOND HAND BACKBONE.

YEAH !

clarations of faith on the part
rming statement that the idea
r mill just like Trinidad, came
fessions of Guyana's Cheddie

Russia even to the point of
ent of a position which every -
ne fails to see is what political
that he expects nothing; that
his THE WEST ON TRIAL is
d into saying this credo, both
osition in Guyana is one of

Caribbean politician has been
America and the frightened
d political opposition which
re as a political norm, and
ose only idea of politics is

erything he knows to return
use it as an excuse to sup-
at thoroughly demoralised
x Soviet - type Communism
eizure of lands, and the ob-
race.

n's birthday honours award
al Press has made to justify
only the farce of Guyana's
ment too accepts Queen's

e colonial master to make
ecessities of being a colon-
ow-pen, even when he has
ork will recall how bitterly
all, if CAPITALISM AND
RIANS AND THE WEST
criticism of British values;
stern civilisation with its
d. Now he too has joined
Country Palatine in Lan-
especially when they are
ers of the system against

SOUNDS AND PRESSURE

PART II

by Gordon Rohlehr

Conditions in Kingston grew progressively worse. There were racial riots in 1965; the bull-dozing in 1966 of hundreds of squatters from the West Kingston area; the growing anarchy of the dispossessed, who were driven from the cemetry; the organization of violence along party lines in 1967. This disaster, anarchy and heartbreak created a perfect context for the blues. Out of this chaos emerged the Rock Steady, a beat which resulted from the slowing down of the Ska. It was almost as if a conscious attempt were being made to cool the country down. By some strange irony the name "Rock Steady" is also applied to a special rubber truncheon, which the police use to beat uncooperative citizens, so that the blows hurt, but don't show. In the midst of the frenzy, Prince Buster's reassuring voice told the fans "Take it easy. . . .No need to worry"

The Rock steady became popular throughout the West Indies Unfortunately, despite the genuine talents of Alphonso and Mc Cook, there was no instrumentalist of Drummond's stature and conviction, to exploit this much freer beat. What is noticeable though, is that the singers are now producing their own raw experience, and making deep, and sometimes bitter comments on the society. In the Ska era, there were Rasta songs like "The Time Has Come for I", and "Carry Go Bring", a song which commented on the adverse effects of rumour and "mauvais langue" and was said to refer to Lady Bustamante. The Rock Steady versoin of it is very moving, as the singer advises.

"Better to seek a home in Mount Zion high Instead of heaping opression on an innocent man. But time will tell on you, you old Jezebel
How long shall the wicked reign over my people?"

RUDY SONG

These songs, however were mild in comparison with Rudy songs. Jamaica had moved from the era of Brother Man, the ritualist, to that of Rudy, the anarchist. Far from being the violent enemies of society, Rastafarians are often like the good blacks in America who sang spirituals or used religious delirium to exorcise hunger. The Rudies, on the other hand are like the early blues men who sing their devil music. . . . anarchists, who celebrate anarchy as the only true freedom left in world. The term "rudeness" is used to connote a disrespect for authority in any form. But since the rudeboys are most likely to come into cantact with the judges, justice is the main them of rudeboy songs. It must be noted that once rudie songs became popular, groups began to sing them simply to exploit the market. Yet some genuine tendencies can be noted.

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The record "Judge Dread" or Judge Four Hundred Years" is more ambiguous. In some ways. I know of no more savage mockery of the idea of an inhumane system whose watch-word is Law and Order, than this record. In Judge Dread's court, one is always guilty, and guilty of a multitude of crimes which no one man can possibly have committed, and the shortest sentence is one hundred years. To protest innocence is to show contempt of court, an offence punishable by a separate hundred years. Judge Dread epitomizes for the rudeboy what justice has become in Jamaica, blind accusation and absurd reprisal. The Rudeboy feels that the law-courts, like the rest of the society have sacrificed justice to the creation of scapegoats. For him, law has become so repressive that justice has degenerated into a madness for power on the part of the judge. It is as if Prince Buster is predicting the moment where the authoritarianism of our societies will become megalomania, a moment which most Latin American countries experienced after Independence.

JUDGE DREAD

Yet "Judge Dread" is not to be explained away in such a simple manner. Prince Buster told me that the disorganized activity of the rudies meant that they were simply shooting not only at each other but indiscriminately at "black People". Judge Dread, the epitome of repressive officialdom, was absolutely necessary in a situation of anarchy. Thus, in "The Appeal" he sentences the Rudeboys to one thousand years, with the words, "Count how white people are dying, how many other nations are dying; multiply them. . . and that does not amount to the number of black people that are being killed by these rudeboys". Judge Dread therefore refuses them right of appeal, and also sentences the European Counsel for the defence they have brough with them. Prince Buster argued that only a white would bother to defend blacks who had been killing their brothers. It seems then, that the situation in Jamaica has become so bad, that even the poor are looking for a more repressive operation of the law, rather than grass roots reform of a social system, which makes both Rudy and Judge Dread inevitable. Such is the wierd logic of repression. It breeds both rebellion and masochism.

EVERYTHING CRASH

Since the days of Judge Dread social commentary of a more general nature has continued in song. "Everything Crash", for example looks at the situation in 1968. when several branches of the public service went on strikc. "Look ya now, Pharoah house crash." The singers sound as if they rather expected this to happen. The system. they implied, was rotten beyond reform, and "Wha dam' bad a marnin' can't come good a evening---No!" Songs like "Sufferer" or "Poor Me Israelites" or "Things a come up to Bump" record the common man's growing frustration with his lot. "Wake up in the morning, skimping for bread, sah, so that every mouth can be fed....Poor me Israelites". This implied comparison with the experience of the Jews, is of course common among blacks. This Desmond Dekker tune (he also sang 007) is at present high on the charts in Britain.

Thus, both the sounds and the pressure continue. The more submissive dance the Reggae to forget the kind of life they have to lead. The more rebellious climb the hills to shoot and rob the rich And Orange Street continues to shake to the driving beat each infernal day, each familiar blue afternoon

CALL THAT GEORGE

by MOKO

Another thing that has puzzled some of our readers is the name of this very column. Well, from time to time, we have been trying to examine certain concepts which lie at the root of our society's consciousness. Like the concept of "grandcharge". Grandcharge we defined as the art of sophisticated trickery and bluff, the art of Brer Anancy, the politician-hero. "Calling That George" is another concept. At best it implies a stoical indifference to the absurd situation, a kind of negative scorn. Those who found the tragic absurdity of the slave's life too much for them, devised a way of enduring under the strain. They fell into a kind of apathy. which was at first a means of non-cooperation with Massa, but later became an ingrained habit of passivity.

Day in, day out, we see cases of people simply surrendering to the logic of things. On the one hand, it enables them to survive, on the other,it kills their capacity for rebellion. There are several "Call that George" proverbs in our folk-language. One of the most pithy of them is the Jamaican proverb which goes something like this: "If the only water comes from a nasty pond, you have to FAN OFF THE FILTH AND DRINK THE WATER' Or there is the Guyanese proverb "When sore can't heal, man no got fe bear am?" there was the cryptic reply which a farmer who saw his every scheme fail made to us "Work hard, try your best, leave the rest".

Thus, "Calling that George" is a complex attitude, suggesting both the stoical toughness, which has enabled us to survive, and self-contempt, mental inertia, an acceptance of the life-sore of our existence, which stifles our every move towards independence of spirit. Of course our choice of the name is ironic, since in "Call That George we are dealing mainly with things that we hope people will never simply ignore.

Happy fortnight,
dear, dear reader
Moko

CRICKITO ERGO SUM*

Life spins on in the same old way:
Clean bowled by yesterday's off-break.
Leg-break today, the same heart-ache.....
Googly tomorrow--"Howzzat suh?"
Ow, Gad, send down a straight ball, nuh!
One ah can shut me yeye and play....

*"I bat therefore I exist" (Descartes)

MOKO

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BITTER SWEET

The history of sugar cane is as diversified as the history of the region itself. One writer indentified sugar with slavery and termed its taste "bitter-sweet." Today the descendants of African slaves and Indian indentureship, continue to sweat in the Sugar Industry not as physical, but social and economic slaves.

The production of sugar cane has always been a very profitable exercise in the West Indies, and continues to be so up to the present time. Profitable, however, not to time hard-working men and women who toil in the fields and factories to produce the profits, but to the absentee shareholders based in the United Kingdom, from since the coronation of King Sugar in the Caribbean.

The West India Royal Commission in its survey of 1938 commented extensively on the social and economic conditions in the Sugar Industry from the early years of settlement, right up to the time of enquiry which followed the 1937 disturbances and riots. To show that sugar had always paid certain people, the Commissioners quoted from Adam Smith's WEALTH OF THE NATIONS (1776)

ADAM SMITH

"It is commonly said", he wrote, "that the sugar farmer expects that the rum and the molasses should defray the whole expense of his cultivation, and that his sugar should be all clear profit." (W.I. Royal Com. Rep p.3.)

The situation was however changed owing to several circumstances, but despite fluctuations of fortune as a result of wars, imports of beet sugar in the U.K., depression and cases of plant disease, the Sugar Industry continued to prosper whenever collapse and extinction threatened. Prosperity and profits were maintained through Guaranteed Markets, Sugar Preference, generous subsidies, and of course, Governments' protection against competition of one form or another.

WORLD WAR II

To review our own history in the Sugar Industry in colonial days Absentee shareholders did remarkably well during World War II as contrasted with the worker and small cane farmer. At the commencement of World War II King Sugar was nearly forced to abdicate Collapse and extinction were predicted in 1942-43. The Sugar Manufacturers made strong representation to the Colonial Government for hurried assistance. This followed mass migration of agricultural labourers and small cane farmers to work on the U.S. Bases. A vast majority of Cane Farmerswork for Sugar Companies during the reaping season, and thus form an integral part of the Cane Industry.)

Responding to the producers' demand for urgent action, to save the industry and what was called the future of the colony's economy, the Government of the day called upon the U.S. Base authorities to keep their wages in line with other industries, and with such wages as the Govt. itself was able to afford and to restrict employment from the affected areas .

BENHAM COMMITTEE

Tney also proceeded post-haste into the appointment of a Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. F.C.C. Benham to recommend to Government what measures should be taken in view of the present condition and future prospects of the Sugar Industry. In consequence of the findings of the Committee the Sugar Companies received a subsidy of $40.00 in acre from the Trinidad Government, for each acre of land replanted in 1943, while a similar sum was paid by the U.K. Government for each acre replanted in 1944, and $20.00 per acre was offered for 1945. The Trinidad Government also guaranteed a minimum price per ton for cane and state assistance of $400.00 per year for three years, to cover risks of obsolescence and depreciation in Factory equipment and Machinery.

FREE GIFT

The Sugar Producers did not only enjoy the free gift of $1,200.000 from our local exchequer but the colonial legislature of the day hurriedly in one sitting passed the Production of Cane Ordiance 1947, giving the Producers a formula for computing the price of Farmers' cane which doubled the Industry's depreciation bill from $400,000 to $804,966 deductible from the Cane Farmers' price for canes. Since then, there has been little change, and the Cane Farmer suffers at the hands of the manufacturer, who continues to draw a premium for purchasing and grinding the Farmers' canes.

Under this formula, whose proposed amendment has been vigorously resisted by the Producers, often acting in collusion of the Government, as of yore, the Farmer gets nothing from the profits on rum and molases, and is subjected to a discriminatory clause reducing the price of cane by 60 cents per ton, in the case of burnt canes.

1948 COMMISSION

The Soulburn Commission in 1948, recommended changes in the price formula for computing the prices of Farmers' cane, and also recommended changes both in operating and harvesting procedures, wherever such procedures are detrimental to the interest of the Farmers. To date, the basic recommendations of this Commission remain unattended, while the Farmers continue to labour under the adverse conditions of an iniquitous formula, legislated by a colonial legislature.

The Cane Farmers' Association has been in existence for almost ten years, but almost six years of its existence have been wasted in lawsuits and internal conflicts, so that the farmers are no better off. Most of them are aware of their problems, but are unable to pursue their course as they continue to groan under economic strain, and the tedious weight of lofty speeches.

NEW LANDS

Some time ago MOKO indicated what it thought the Government's action ought to be over the request by Caroni Ltd. for new cane lands. We are glad to see that at least part of their response has been in the interest of the small Cane Farmer as we had stated it ought to be. If the Government is serious about building a class of entrepreneurial Cane Farmers, there are other things to be done.

Allowing 8,500 acres to be cultivated, is only one step. A fair price must be guaranteed on delivery of the canes. Easy selling facilities (i.e. no excessive waiting at the factory scales) and guaranteed selling contracts are necessary Grants or loans to held the small farmer bring the land under sugar must be made available. Scale inspection of ensure fair weights, and sample tests to determine sucrose content must be instituted. The fullest possible use should be made of the intellectual resources of our economists, to determine how much we are at the mercy of the European stock market. Does the world price bear any relation to the realities of the industry? Or does it exist simply as a means of swindling the underdeveloped nations? On the Common Market, Europeans pay each other about twice the price for sugar that is paid to Commonwealth countries. The proposed opening of the new cane lands, then, though it seems a pity, offers the Government an opportunity to show whether it is serious, or merely playing Ole Mass as usual.

The time has certainly come for a thorough review of the thirties, the men who made it and the men it produced. It would be instructive to measure the politicians then against the politicians now, with a view to determining whether we have not both gained and lost something.

BUTLER

Continued from Page 2

the officers, hurling missiles of all descriptions. Superintendent-Sergeant Balfon who had taken hold of Butler, found himself being carried into the crowd and was forced to let Butler go.

(Sections 197 -201 p. 49).

FORTHCOMING ISSUES

RACE IN LATIN AMERICA

LAW AND JUSTICE – A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

REVIEW OF THE BEATLES FILM "YELLOW SUBMARINE"

REVIEW OF "FROUDACITY"

DUE TO BE REPUBLISHED SOON

The Teachers and Politics

PART IV

The extent of gratitude to Gopaul by the Government then, was to ensure his protection in the office of General Secretary of the T & T'T'U., as long as he can keep the Union functioning as an arm of the Ministry of Education and culture.

As a first step to this guarantee the same Education Bill on which Gopaul had committed the Teaching fraternity to his own indiscretion, emerged from Parliment with notable changes in respect of the T & T'T'U., naming and adopting it in final terms. Paragraphs of guaranteed protection (Sec. 53.... Pars. 1––4....Sec. 71....Sec. 72... Pars. 1––4....) all of hwich formed no part of the original Bill, were entrenched. Take for example, the following passage "Existing Association means the Trinidad and Tobago Teachers' Union, and any other trade-union or organisation recognized immediately before the commencement of this Act as the bargaining body for any class or classes of teachers who by virtue of the provisions of this Part become members of the Teaching Service."

This passage simply insured that the T & T.T.U., became a province of the Ministry of Education. Neither before nor after the Act has there been any organization besides the Teachers' Union acting on the behalf of teachers. What is more, steps were taken to destroy any attempts at forming and legitimizing an alternative body to represent teachers.

Evidence of this development might be found in the case of the thousands of teachers who had conclusively withdrawn from the Union (by submitting letters to this effect to the Education Ministry) through disgust at the allegedly unconstitutional practices of Gopaul, in and out of office. These same teachers organised into a new Body - the National Teachers' Assoc - failed in every attempt at recognition for bargaining. On the contrary, most of its Executive members were effectively transferred and/or promoted out of action and put under vigilant observation by the Education Ministry.

While the role of Government was being acted out with precision, Gopaul - still without contract -was striving to enshrine himself in office for life through a new Constitution. Innumerable were the individual protests; twenty-three of the twenty eight D.T.A.'S voted no-confidence in Gopaul and his Executive; a meeting of over five-hundred teachers, held at the Training College next door, approvingly burnt these new Rules, then in Draft.

Nation-wide queries among groups of teachers gave utterance of decisive action, reported in the Press regularly from January to March-1966. All was ignored by Gov't who refused even to carry out the requests of those teachers whose desire to withdraw had already been expressed and submitted.

And so, shamelessly and protected, Gopaul registered this New Constitution after a most stormy and inconclusive adjorned Conference, held on a shcool-day.

Of such a nature is the background against which must be seen the current role of the T & T.T.U., and the demand made by Gopaul on those Student-teachers of P.O.S.T.C in July, 1967. "Apologise to the Ministry;" he said, in a situation of the most adverse and unfortunate circumstances for professional training; a situation which truly reflected the concept of teachers as held by those in political authority; a situation which credited the teacher with the barest whisper of courage.

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